

Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-04

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SS-20 SSO-00 ISO-00 PRS-01

USIE-00 INR-10 INRE-00 NEA-14 NSC-07 NSCE-00 /058 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:PDENNIS:DS

APPROVED BY PA/M:FWISNER

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TOSEC 406, ZFF JERUSALEM ONLY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT OSWALD JOHNSTON FRONT PAGE BYLINER, WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, WASHINGTON STAR-NEWS HEADLINED "KISSINGER RISKS STIR DISSENT"

2. CAN HENRY A. KISSINGER, THE WORKER OF "MIRACLES" IN MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY, ACCEPT A SETBACK ON HIS CURRENT MISSION? A PREVALENT VIEW AMONG SOME DIPLOMATS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WITH LONG EXPERIENCE IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IS THAT HE NOT ONLY CAN--BUT SHOULD.

3. THAT VIEW APPARENTLY REFLECTS A SPREADING DISSENT WITHIN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES--IN AND OUT OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT--OVER IMMEDIATE U.S. AMBITIONS AND TACTICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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4. THIS DISSENT IN PART REPRESENTS A FEAR THAT THE SHIFT

IN U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY PORTENDED BY THE NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH EGYPT WILL PREMATURELY RAISE EXPECTATIONS IN THE ARAB WORLD AND PROVOKE APPREHENSIONS IN ISRAEL THAT COULD LEAVE MATTERS MORE UNSETTLED THAN EVER.

5. THE VIEW MAY FORESHADOW HARD GOING FOR KISSINGER WHEN HE SEEKS TO IMPLEMENT SHORT-TERM GAINS HE MAY BE ABLE TO MAKE ON THIS TRIP, AND THE LONGER-TERM ADVANCES THAT

MIGHT FOLLOW LATER.

6. THE MAIN THEME OF U.S. POLICY WHICH THE DISSENTERS NOW ARE CHALLENGING IS THAT "MOMENTUM" TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF ALL OUTSTANDING ARAB-ISRAEL ISSUES MUST BE ACCELERATED AT ALL COSTS.

7. THE MAIN COUNTER-ARGUMENT BEING OFFERED IS THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, DESIGNED TO SEEK A PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDEAST, IS BETTER DELAYED--OR EVEN AVOIDED--THAN RUSHED INTO PREMATURELY.

8. ALREADY IN THE CONVENTIONAL VIEW, "MOMENTUM" HAS PRODUCED A DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES ON THE EGYPT-ISRAEL SUEZ CANAL FRONT AND YIELDED--AS A SPECIAL BONUS TO KISSINGER FROM PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT--A SO-CALLED "DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION" IN U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS.

9. NOW, ACCORDING TO THAT INTERPRETATION, AFTER A BRIEF DETOUR TO CYPRUS FOR KISSINGER TO PRESS THE SOVIET UNION FOR COOPERATION, THE MOMENTUM MUST BE PUSHED AHEAD AS FAST AS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A SEPARATION OF SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS.

10. KISSINGER'S CURRENT DAMASCUS-JERUSALEM SHUTTLE, ACCORDINGLY, HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS "CRUCIAL"--A DIPLOMATIC "END-GAME" IN THE GREAT POWER DUEL FOR INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN WHICH A KISSINGER TRIUMPH ON THE GOLAN TO MATCH HIS NEGOTIATION WITH SADAT ON SUEZ WOULD FREEZE THE SOVIETS OUT OF A PERMANENT FUTURE ROLE IN THE ARAB WORLD.

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11. IN THE VIEW OF THE SKEPTICS, A SEPARATION OF FORCES BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL WOULD BE NOTHING MORE THAN AN EARLY, PRELIMINARY STEP TOWARD A GOAL THAT IS STILL UNDEFINED IN U.S. DIPLOMACY.

12. PUT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OCTOBER WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH, ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

AGREEMENT KISSINGER IS BARGAINING SO HARD TO ACHIEVE IS ACTUALLY NOTHING MORE THAN A DIPLOMATIC FORMALIZATION OF A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT CONTRACTED LAST OCTOBER, NEARLY SEVEN MONTHS AGO.

13. ACCORDING TO THE AGREEMENT HASTILY WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION OCT. 21 AND RUSHED THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL A DAY LATER AS RESOLUTION 338, ONLY AFTER A CEASE-FIRE WERE THE WARRING PARTIES TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

14. ONLY THEN WOULD THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS GET DOWN TO THE "SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES" THAT HAVE DIVIDED THEM FOR 26 YEARS: TERRITORIES AND BORDERS, A GUARANTEE OF PEACE AND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF SOME 2 MILLION DISPLACED PALESTINIANS.

15. THERE APPARENTLY IS NO WIDESPREAD EXPECTATION OF SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS AT A FORMAL PEACE CONFERENCE LET ALONE SUCCESS IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. BUT A BREAKDOWN OR STALEMATE AT GENEVA, IF TALKS THERE ARE ONCE BEGUN, COULD UNRAVEL ALL THE LIMITED PROGRESS ACHIEVED SO FAR AND EVEN PROVOKE A NEW WAR, ACCORDING TO THE SKEPTICS' VIEW.

16. AS FOR THE SOVIETS, IN THIS VIEW, AS THEIR REAL MIDDLE EAST INTERESTS LIE IN IRAQ AND THE PERSIAN GULF, A LIMITED AMERICAN SUCCESS ALONG THE LINES OF THE KISSINGER EFFORT SO FAR WOULD NOT REALLY BE OF HARM, WHILE A COLLAPSE OF AN AMERICAN INITIATIVE WOULD AID THEM IMMENSELY.

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17. A PRIME SOURCE FOR SUSPICIONS OF THIS SORT IS, NOT SURPRISINGLY, ISRAEL. THERE, A CURRENT CLIMATE OF POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY, TOGETHER WITH A HISTORY OF DISTRUST FOR ANY AMERICAN POLICY NOT IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN JERUSALEM, IS COMBINING TO PRODUCE A DEEPENING SKEPTICISM AND DOUBT OVER KISSINGER'S MOTIVES.

18. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, AT LEAST FOR ITS SHORT-RUN EFFECT ON KISSINGER'S ABILITY TO RUN FOREIGN POLICY IN A CRIPPLED ADMINISTRATION, IS THE FACT THAT THE MAIN-LINE, "ESTABLISHMENT" JEWISH GROUPS THAT MAKE UP THE FRONT LINE OF POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL IN THE UNITED STATES ARE BEGINNING TO EXPRESS SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT KISSINGER'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY. THE REACTION SO FAR IS MOSTLY ONE

OF CONCERN, RATHER THAN OPEN DISAPPROVAL OR OUTRIGHT
DISTRUST.

19. TYPICAL OF THESE MAIN-LINE ORGANIZATIONS IS I.L.
KENEN'S WASHINGTON-BASED AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE, WHICH SAW AN OMINOUS TILT TOWARD ARAB OPINION

IN THE RECENT U.S. DECISION TO SUPPORT A UNITED NATIONS
VOTE CONDEMNING ISRAEL FOR RETALIATING AGAINST
PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS BASED IN LEBANON.

20. THE SAME MODERATE, PRO-ISRAEL LOBBY GROUP SPECU-
LATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION DELIBERATELY WAS SCALING
DOWN U.S. AID TO ISRAEL FROM \$2.2 BILLION LAST YEAR TO A
COMPARATIVELY MODEST \$350 MILLION THIS YEAR, IN AN
APPARENT EFFORT TO BALANCE OFF THE UNEXPECTEDLY LARGE
PROPOSAL OF \$250 MILLION IN AID TO EGYPT.

21. A MORE MILITANT GROUP, WHICH LAST MONTH ISSUED A
HARSHLY WORDED POLICY STATEMENT THROUGH THE PRESTIGIOUS
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER BOSTON, HAS DEFINED
THE NEW ISRAEL-U.S. RELATIONSHIP IN FAR MORE DRASTIC
TERMS--TERMS THAT ARE QUIETLY BEING ECHOED THESE DAYS
ON CAPITOL HILL

22. "ALL OTHER POLICY CONSIDERATIONS--INCLUDING THE
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MATTER OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND THE PURSUIT OF A TRUE
AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST--HAVE BEEN DEVALU-
ED TO PROTECT THE INVESTMENT IN DETENTE," THE DOCUMENT
ACCUSES.

23. IT GOES ON, IN EFFECT CHARGING AN OUTRIGHT SELLOUT
OF ISRAEL'S INTERESTS: DR. KISSINGER'S DIPLOMATIC BREAK-
THROUGH IN THE ARAB WORLD IS BASED ON HIS 'UNDERSTANDING'
WITH SADAT TO SECURE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED ARAB
TERRITORY WITHOUT DIRECT, SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS
ARAB PERCEPTION OF THE 'UNDERSTANDING' EXPLAINS SADAT'S
STATEMENT
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 MAY 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE095165
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PDENNIS:DS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740112-0385
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740563/aaaacetb.tel
Line Count: 208
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 OCT 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 OCT 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <03 JAN 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: TEL AVIV JERUSALEM
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005